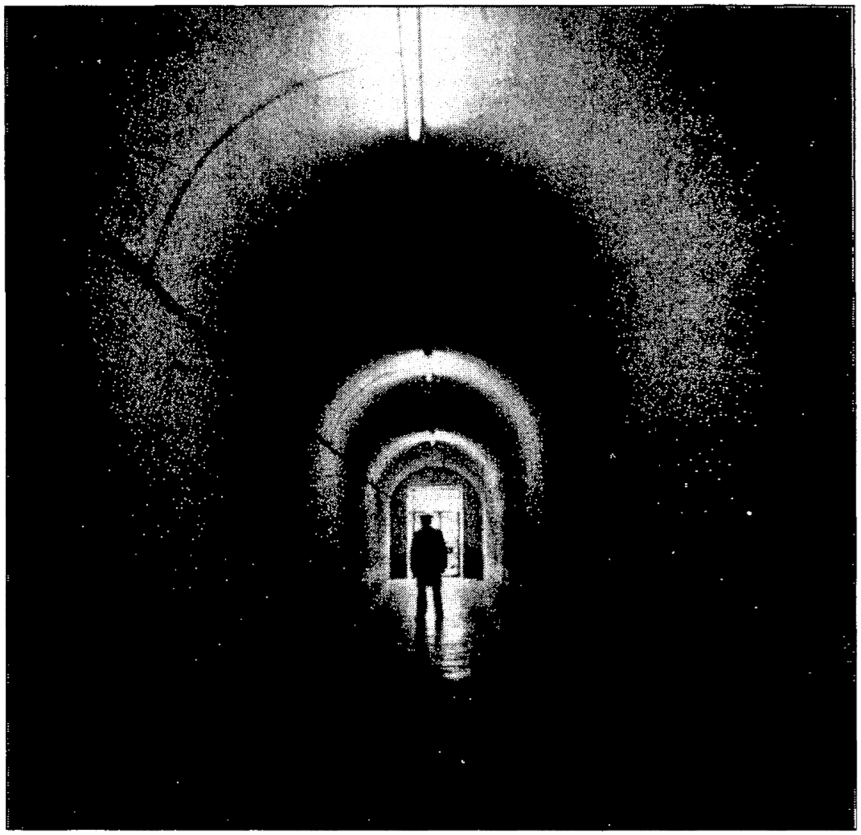
We see fireflies because they fly at night.

Anarchists are so bright in the eyes of repression because society is as dark as its pacification.

The problem isn't the fireflies but the night. . .

On Trial
Repression &
Its World



"Sur le banc des accusés," *Tumult éditions anarchistes*

"Sur le banc des accusés," *Salto, subversion & anarchie*, n° 2, November 2012 (Bruxelles)

"La répression et son petit monde," *Subversions, revue anarchiste de critique sociale*, n°1, September 2012 (Paris)

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imprisoned in our daily lives—of which the police, the courts, and prisons are just one aspect—is not so much a matter of militant self-defense against repression but how we conceive of our struggles as a whole (which has real implications for who we are, our ideas, our hopes, and our actions).

Solidarity remains one of our most powerful weapons against a system that depends on isolation and atomization. With a little imagination and creativity, as well as an analysis of the social context we live in, we can start to disrupt these fundamental aspects of domination. Faced with all the obstacles we'll confront in the struggle, finding some coherence and continuity can not only help to avoid the fragmentation of our actions and identities but also could become a common basis for sharing and intensifying a common tension towards freedom.

material support for people facing repression. It's above all about advancing the fight and *why* we fight. When the state tries to force rebels back into line it would be a mistake to lock them up again within social identities that are isolated from the rest of social conflictuality (you don't need to be a "militant" or know someone who was a "victim" of police violence to recognize yourself in the ongoing riots against the cops and the system they exist to reproduce, for example). Rage and revolt against the existing world are constantly materializing in new ways and new places, and if they inspire us, let us express our rage and revolt in words and in action, in an open encounter with what speaks to us in our hearts, such as the refusal of authority and our desire for freedom. For isn't this what we want to prevail?

Just as repression can't be reduced to catching a charge and spending a few bad days in court, self-defense against repression can't be reduced to the legal expertise of movement lawyers, even if they share this with us. If, like so many others, we want to seize the opportunity of a police raid, a trial, or a prison sentence to agitate, it won't be with savvy plans about the effects it would have on legal precedent. The state has its reasons—and they're not ours. Anyways, the idea isn't to appeal to the powerful but to initiate vital dialogues within conflictuality. The idea of a "balance of power" between the movement and the state isn't limited to the duration of a case, a trial, or some "campaign." Similarly, our success or failure won't be measured by how many people we've mobilized around the severity of potential prison sentence but rather by the extent we've contributed to strengthening and intensifying individual and collective antagonism. This is difficult to evaluate, of course, though the echoes of resistance from near and far that do reach us aren't negligible. It's often pointless to quantify how much a particular intervention resounds with others, since they spatially and temporally exceed our immediate experience. It's up to us to define our own criteria of success and experiment with different forms of—always explosive—solidarity. In this sense, trying to oppose everything that keeps us

On Trial

Nevertheless, the other morning the storekeepers of Paris, while straightening up their goods, said to themselves, with their robust good sense: "There's not the least chance of error. They want to undermine the foundation of our centuries-old monuments. We are confronted with a new plot." Come, come, brave storekeepers! You wander on the plains of the absurd. This conspiracy you speak of isn't new. If it's a question of tearing down the worm-eaten edifices of the society we hate, well, this has been in preparation for a long time. This is what we have always plotted.

Zo D'Axa, L'En-Dehors, 1892

What is Repression?

We live in a world in which every social construct, social process, and social relation has a repressive function. It's not difficult to show that strictly repressive forces (the police, the army, the courts, and the prisons) are only a small part of society's oppressive whole. If we define repression as the force that prevents, deters, and punishes us for acting to undermine the ruling economic, social, and moral order, it's easy to see how all democratic institutions exist to prevent the self-organization of society, how the oppressive ideal of love exists to discourage liberated emotional connections, and how the economy exists to punish any attempt at eliminating money from our lives. Repression can't be reduced solely to the armed wing of domination, even when it comes knocking at the doors of subversive militants.

When the "armed wing" of domination looms over the lives of our comrades with all of the weapons at its disposal—courts, prisons, and police—the state isn't just trying to suppress the spread of subversive ideas and actions or merely take a few troublesome elements out of action. The state is also trying to goad the subversive current into confronting its repressive forces on unfavorable ground, which risks trapping us in the impasse of combatting a single obstacle (the repression of our comrades), thus preventing us from advancing the struggle in all directions. Confronting this specific aspect of repression—the repression of our comrades—on its own ground without fighting it as a whole is suicidal.

Is the repression that strikes us so separate from the repression that affects society as a whole? Though not everyone may discover hidden surveillance cameras in their homes, we shouldn't forget that video surveillance is all-pervasive everywhere. Though not everyone may be forced to defend themselves against terrorism charges, isn't it nevertheless true that wide swathes of society are either put in chains by a judge or unremittingly repressed by social, moral, and economic forces just for trying to survive, just for trying to live? It's not hard to foresee that repression will continue to escalate in the increasingly volatile world we live in, riven with social tensions that are increasingly more difficult for the state to control. The rampant construction of all kinds of new prisons is just one obvious sign of what's to come.

Social Threats

But let's now specifically consider repression against autonomous struggles and individuals who are fighting for freedom. Sometimes, when comrades are arrested, when struggles are repressed, and when barely-concealed threats of further repression against those who aren't willing to surrender proliferate, we're lead to believe that we are *dangerous.* If we are a threat to

Anti-Repression & Solidarity

A critique traditionally leveled against those who engage in "anti-repression" work—and against anti-repression in general—is the tendency to temporarily abandon the wider struggles they were engaged in in order to focus solely on self-defense. When repression hits, it too often paralyzes not only people's energy through its immediate repercussions and the constant threat of future punishment, but it also manages to hijack both the struggle and its horizons. When we're forced to concentrate most of our time and effort on what's currently impacting our comrades, we often lose sight of what we're fighting against or even neglect and abandon why we're fighting—a sad paradox, which is usually accompanied by overly abstract and isolated proposals to continue the struggle as if nothing had ever happened.

We're not interested here in giving a proposal for specific anti-repression struggles, especially not if they supplant the fight against the system as a whole. We are well aware that fighting against repression is dangerous, but it's no more and no less dangerous than everything else the world has in store for us. After all, we weren't the ones who decided how this world would look. It's up to us to decide, just like in any struggle, what we want to do with it. We can adapt the struggle if it's too restrictive. We can take the struggle to where it will hurt the enemy most, to where it may resonate with others, to where we can encounter other accomplices in antagonism. Why would we refuse to face repression head on? As long as we consider repression in the wider context of the social war we're engaged in, it shouldn't be too difficult or contrived to respond to the blows of repression by connecting them to other forms of oppression and, above all, to other ongoing revolts.

Solidarity isn't based on repression as such but on what we recognize in ourselves that might drive individuals, actions, and struggles forward… Solidarity is much more than providing

a critique to state apparatuses that are isolated from social relations, we could, for example, approach the issue by posing the question of the "social prison," which would open up vast theoretical and practical possibilities for further intensifying the struggle.

Challenging prisons as a whole in fact involves examining all of the systems of control and imprisonment that pervade society as a whole. By no longer concentrating solely on one particular aspect of the carceral management of society, such as the deployment of new repressive measures or surveillance technologies, we can grasp the social and moral values that constitute social forms of domination simultaneously with their very concrete materializations… To give just a few examples, the social relationship to the law and to conflict participates in domination, as do people's collaboration with domination as legally-recognized citizens—social control is diffuse throughout every aspect of all of our lives. Attacking what imprisons us in our daily lives presents a major challenge: we must incorporate our resolutely anti-authoritarian values and practices within the encounters we hope to find and the complicities we hope to forge in our struggle against all of the walls of this same social prison.

Similarly, a specific struggle against a particular form of social imprisonment can aim to directly attack and destroy it—*and also the world that produced it*. These are neither empty words, nor are they a simple slogan, when the objectives of such a struggle involve the diffusion of emancipatory ideas, the propagation of forms of self-organization that might make it possible for everyone to take initiative for themselves outside of any institutional mediation and hierarchies, and the intensification of individual and collective resistance with revolutionary perspectives.

There are many horizons to explore in these kinds of struggles, as in any struggle we initiate or decided to participate in.

the established order—like anarchism has been classified in Belgium for a few years now, deemed to be "the most significant and widespread threat to national security"—does that mean we're targeted by repression because we're doing something right? Such beliefs belie a lack of conviction and perspective in our own ideas, because we take domination at its word. Conversely, it's unfortunately not uncommon, even within subversive milieus, to hear rumors circulating that certain comrades, spaces, or struggles are dangerous and should be avoided because they attract repression and other such nonsense. In both cases, the same frame of reference is used—that of dominant morality and the laws in force. Worse still is the adoption of a "military" frame of reference that only considers what's subversive to be the sum total of attacks attributable to a particular militant current or tendency, a frame of reference that's all too commonly used both among legalists and reformists as well as authoritarian "militants." What does that old quote say again? *"We see fireflies because they fly at night. Anarchists are so bright in the eyes of repression because society is as dark as its pacification. The problem isn't the fireflies but the night."*

The real danger is elsewhere—it's the subterranean threat that has spanned centuries and has confronted every form domination has taken: the threat of a social uprising, the total subversion of the existing order. It's both pointless and detrimental to our dignity to hide the fact that subversive, anti-authoritarian ideas and actions seek to encourage, defend, and escalate a subversive rupture with this world and thus the insurrection necessary for the inevitably violent negation of laws and morals. The state will always seek to repress, persecute, and crush anything that endangers its existence. The real threat is thus not a hundred anarchists but *the forever possible and always unpredictable spread of subversive ideas and actions that we represent*. The real threat—what's truly dangerous—is the social contagion beginning to actuate, or which at least still remains possible. It's clear that the best form of solidarity consists of continuing to spread subversive

ideas and actions beyond any limitation of the state or the courts. It's also clear that the best form of defense against repression is not organizing some imaginary force to confront it (in a militaristic, hierarchical conception of subversion within a logic of symmetrical warfare). It's not simply a matter of finding the right tactics and practical knowledge to be able to completely circumvent it. Rather, the best kind of defense against repression involves developing new perspectives for the struggle, broadening our ideas, and searching for complicity in an offensive refusal of this world. To better grasp the implications, we could put it another way: could an insurrection (in the anarchist sense of a *social* insurrection) actually be vanquished militarily by the state's repressive forces? Does an insurrection's "success" depend on the number of weapons and "troops" available to us? Or rather haven't past insurrections been defeated because of their lack of anti-authoritarian perspectives, because they didn't resolutely reject all leaders, or even because of their fear of total freedom's unknown? The repression of insurrections, just like the social outbreak of an uprising into an insurrection, and the repression of insurgents, just like the transmission of the contagion of insurgent ideas and actions throughout the social fabric, is always a social event, never a military one. There are many significant implications that result from an anti-authoritarian approach to this question, which is essentially a matter of the revolutionary transformation of this world.

On Trial

Many people conceive of Justice (laws, courts, trials) exclusively as an institution, i.e. a pillar of state power in the social morass. Nevertheless, all state institutions are founded equally, if not predominately, upon social consent. They are materializations of existing social relations. Better yet, they *are* social relations. This means, from a subversive perspective, that the state isn't an entity

Even if we limit our focus solely to the police, the courts, and the prisons, it's easy to recognize all the ways they're used to maintain and preserve the social order. Whether they're used to protect the sacrosanct right to private property, the state's monopoly on violence, or the dominant values and norms enshrined into law, the state has long since equipped itself with the means to control, threaten, and punish—and it's never hesitated to use them. We can't, therefore, attack these pillars of society without fundamentally launching a direct critique against the state as such, the very existence of which means the repression of individual desires and wills in the name of some higher interest or so-called "common good," an aspect that's all too often absent when the fight more or less voluntarily stops at the threat of the police (not just the ones in uniform), the courts (much further-reaching than penal codes), and prison (which spreads far beyond its own walls).

Similarly, the necessarily coercive aspect of the state cannot be separated from its supposedly "social" dimension, as if the social dimension of state coercion were not an integral part of how it governs, as if it didn't directly pervade all of society, from schools and workplaces to the very space we live in. They are intrinsically connected.

The oppression we're subjected to and fight against is also a social relation. Sometimes, insisting too much on the breadth of the coercive instruments of state repression can easily exaggerate its—already enormous—effects in relation to the possibility of confronting them, but it also risks forgetting other social mechanisms that work extensively to pacify dissent (especially in democratic systems) and which are based on various forms of consent and assimilation.

In reality, it's not about a priori refusing any struggle around one particular form of repression as the basis for fighting this world but rather ensuring that all of the dimensions of repression we've posed above are present in the struggle. In order to avoid isolating repression from the critique of the state or reducing such

implicitly, the law, the courts, and the underlying "normal" state of things. It's not surprising, given this logic, for traditional institutional mediators (parties, unions, the media, etc.) to be used in such appeals to the state, since the state, confronted with its responsibilities, is supposed to rectify its abuses or the mistakes of its officials. Everything proceeds as if, in the name of urgency and the "gravity of the situation," we could suddenly avoid the question of how this system works, emphasizing the formal constitutional rights it's supposed to guarantee and exploiting public indignation or even trying to recuperate it ourselves, even if it means rehabilitating the idea of representative democracy.

These forms of anti-repression, even when their intentions aren't strictly liberal, still end up neutralizing any subversive possibility. This is especially the case, beyond individual examples, when repression is seen as a separate moment of struggle, a sort of parenthesis in which all political contradictions are elided. So, direct action can end up happily co-existing alongside strategies that are directly opposed to it and can even end up being exploited to the advantage of the ruling class (whether by politicians, priests, parties, or unions, it's all the same). This democratic logic, which tolerates radicals as long they're useful, contributes precisely to co-opting and assimilating protest, crushing dissent, and helping the state achieve its aims of containment. Such a reversal of what anti-repression is purported to be is particularly troubling and blatant when one of its initial aims was challenging the status quo.

Repression, the State, & Social Relations

We could also confront the question another way and, conversely, not consider repression as an exception to how the order of this world is maintained, even when it specifically strikes those who are determined to undermine its bases.

that exists outside of society. Rather, the state is both part of society while structuring society at its core. Taking over the state thus means perpetuating the social relations that structure it and derive from it, while destroying the state means finding another basis, another foundation for social relations—freedom. Money, as a state institution, only exists because all of society grants it value, while, conversely, money also determines the social relations between individuals. A more equitable redistribution of money wouldn't fundamentally change any of the social relations its mere existence creates, but setting fire to money as an institution means beginning to build a world where the economy would no longer determine social relations, or better yet, where economic logic (commerce, work, accumulation, productivity) is rejected entirely. The permeation of commodities throughout all areas of life is another useful example of the correspondence between repression and social relations as they currently exist.

With this premise established, *let's take the stand*. How can we argue that nothing we do in court, at least in terms of our behavior, has any significance without simultaneously affirming that nothing we do in any social institution has any significance? If court, just like the factory, city hall, or even the family home, is a repressive social institution, it's unsustainable to claim that our actions and our ideas have no importance there. Proclaiming that we regret fighting for freedom in front of a judge isn't fundamentally any different than saying "I love you" to your abuser—at least if you think that subversion is a matter of pretense, posture, or deception. Whether in court or on the streets, renouncing your convictions because it's strategic to do so (though some underground actions like sabotage do require discretion) amounts to negating and defusing any of their subversive potential—which is exactly what repression wants. That being said, there are no easy rules or axioms to follow when confronted with the courts. *The only thing that matters is the coherence between what we think and what we do, what we desire and how we fight for it.* This coherence can only be total when our

individuality is a total demand, or in other words, when this demand is a constant tension that beats to the rhythm of our lives. All the rest is mere politics.[1]

Declaring that we recognize neither "guilt" nor "innocence," that we reject all judges and courts, because we are enemies of the law and therefore partisans of any transgression of the law that inspires our desire for freedom, is in no way a mere tactic but a genuine expression of this tension towards the coherence between our thoughts and our actions. Solidarity ceases to be anti-repression and becomes the possibility for complicity, because we're all "guilty" of our ideas and the actions that follow.

1 It's not a matter here of the "technical" aspects of trial but more fundamentally the attitude or ethics (the *content*) that underlies a whole range of more "concrete" actions (the *forms*). The content indicates a refusal to separate our subversive ideas from our actions, which can take many forms in court—from total rejection (refusing to appear in court), evading the court (going underground), refusing to respond to any question or order, or even "taking responsibility" for one's ideas before a judge (which far exceeds the courtroom and means taking responsibility for them in the streets, in the web of social relations that are the foundation of justice, though this isn't the same as pleading guilty for a particular charge). Lastly, there's also the more strictly (and necessarily) technical aspect of legal defense which can be left up to a lawyer or not. But here, too, we don't think that it's all the same. First of all, there's a refusal that's absolutely fundamental, the refusal to prove one's own innocence by testifying that others (known or unknown) are guilty. We can also note the subtle but just as fundamental difference between a lawyer who argues for acquittal and a lawyer who responds to the question of guilt (or innocence). Citing one's "social status," as is commonly done in trials in order to obtain a certain leniency from the judge, is clearly detrimental to one's integrity. Finally, beyond the ethical and subversive tension between thoughts and actions, there's also the particular circumstances, the nature of the charges, and, last but not least, individual inclinations and preferences.

to reformism. Confining the struggle in advance within the state's limitations can also happen when we adopt social categories defined by the state, if not to claim them as our own, then at least to attach ourselves to them excessively, for instance, just to haphazardly cite a few: "urban rioters," "terrorists," "militants," or "members" of a particular "movement." Illegalism has a social dimension, and there's no monopoly on different kinds of offensive actions. More generally, fighting repression in the narrowest way does little to expand the scope of the wider struggle towards ultimately challenging the law itself. Similarly, considering one particular form of repression as unacceptable almost inevitably results in attempting to show that they're illegal or unjust, especially by appealing to innocence or invoking some alleged deviation from the law.

The outrage that regularly erupts about the so-called "criminalization of social movements" is one trivial example of this. Protesters who are arrested or certain actions that face repression are deemed to be "legitimate" because of the "militant" nature of the struggle—and recruiting a large number of new participants through appeals to "legitimacy" would be an added incentive to mitigate the potential for repression. Does this mean that individuals or forms of action that don't gain widespread acceptance for their legitimacy are illegitimate and can therefore be condemned? By insisting that a movement be collective and that actions be shared in advance, do we not ultimately fracture conflictuality into smaller fragments that are more easily manageable by repression, and do we not especially end up ignoring a significant part of the antagonism that is practiced daily in widely dispersed ways outside of the social movement which has its own reasons and forms of action depending on the extent of imagination and determination?

Another example of this way of enclosing struggles within the confines of the state is how movements are polarized by some kinds of charges (such as terrorism) that are seen as exceptions to the struggle, which amounts to legitimizing, even if only

"Repression & Anti-Repression"

Repression takes many forms, from difficulty surviving day-to-day to unfulfilled desires to live freely. Given the vast extent of how the system exercises repression through all of its inner workings and the daily constraints of every social relation—which we ourselves take part in and reproduce—there's much to be done… To struggle against repression and what underlies it, in this sense, means nothing more and nothing less than fighting for freedom against all of the social relations of domination. Yet, anti-repression isn't generally understood in this way.

Though repression is certainly part of everyday life, it's also something that every struggle must immediately confront, particularly when a struggle's determination for radical transformation is not a secret. To struggle actively for the system's destruction exposes us to its wrath, as several recent cases in France have reminded us. What's widespread elsewhere—the direct repression of any idea or action that threatens or seeks to overthrow the established order—has thus become the new normal here as well.

However, in both cases—whether repression involves the domestication of everyday life or radical struggles specifically—the way repression is analyzed in general results in how we decide to confront it collectively, with all the practical implications this inevitably entails.

To focus solely on individual repressive tools (DNA tracing, flash grenades, yet another "anti-terrorism" law, etc.) in a time when the whole arsenal of weapons available to repression isn't ceasing to expand often amounts to confining the struggle within the state's limitations. This happens when technical studies of some "innovation" or improvement in the state's repressive apparatus replace an analysis of the contexts in which they're used, and even more so when protests are limited to demanding the abolition of individual forms of repression, which inevitably leads

The Friend of My Enemy Can Never Be My Friend

By failing to consider the courts as a social relation like any other social relation we end up deceiving ourselves. It's pretty obvious that in most trials there are few people who seek to avoid the logic of the courts, who refuse to surrender their dignity before the judge, or who refuse to testify (or, in many cases, refuse to say whether or not they committed a crime). It's unfortunately not uncommon that this is also the case for self-declared enemies of the state when they find themselves in court. It's not uncommon for opportunistic politics to reappear in court. So we witness principles like refusing to collaborate with institutional or authoritarian political groups "temporarily" abandoned in the name of putting pressure on the judge or mobilizing broad forms of solidarity, or we see people morally coerced into abandoning their principles just because they want to get their comrades out at any cost (to be a little mean, we could point out that "at all costs" never involves risking their own freedom). Suddenly, ardent critiques of "rights" are replaced with confused alliances with some human rights league or another, rejections of the economy and money are dismissed in order to gain the support of a union (eternal pacifiers of social conflict and labor), refusals of representational spectacles are transformed to welcome journalists "who will help to exert pressure" or to accept existing social roles (each in their place and all together now to democratically denounce abuse) by publishing, for example, an "open letter" in official newspapers. What more can be said? Authority cannot be fought in authoritarian ways—a simple statement that's true all the same.

Seeking such alliances not only means violating your own political values and those of past and future struggles, not only foreclosing possible accomplices and complicities in wider social struggles (the oppressed are no strangers to hypocrisy, but

compromising isn't conducive to forging common struggles among rebels), it also means engaging in struggle on a basis that's to life and freedom what oil is to the ocean—politics. Involvement in politics with all of its nauseating alliances and delegations, its moderate "lesser evil" approaches, its sickening opportunism, is the polar opposite of the domain where subversive struggles should be waged—in the streets, side by side with the excluded, the exploited, and the rebels in order to spread emancipatory ideas, and to inspire revolt, to envision ever more incisive attacks against domination. Wasting your time and energy in endless discussions with politicians, authoritarian imposters, unthinking ideologues, lying legalists… How uninteresting it must be. How much more worthwhile would it be to embark upon the adventure, carrying subversion to the heart of society above and beyond any mediation or representation. The first path of anti-repression inevitably ends with demoralizing and confused rallies in front of the courthouse. The second path seeks to transform a specific instance of the repression of our comrades and of our struggles into yet another spark to ignite the social tinderbox.

Sooner or Later

It's unavoidable: sooner or later, every individual committed to revolt and every autonomous struggles will face repression, whether directly or the threat of it. It's crucial to always keep repression (in the broadest possible sense) in mind, exploring possible ways of resisting it, and even logistically preparing for it before it strikes, but we must always connect it back to repressive social relations as a whole and their underlying tensions and conflicts. There's no doubt that we need to organize material support for arrested or imprisoned comrades, but this is never solely a logistical issue.

Understanding repression as just one obstacle to our struggle and not an insurmountable barrier isn't an easy task. We're not just

towards a rupture with this world to work diligently to ensure that the struggle won't become self-defeating and that it won't solely focus on objectives that are rightly or wrongly thought to be the most easily or quickly attainable. According to an emancipatory perspective, why should we arbitrarily detach more or less urgent "needs," according to how they're defined, from the wishes and desires that accompany them? Why should we retain any ambiguity about how the system works and our fierce opposition to it? Why should we demand reforms or defend small victories instead of promoting the possibility of a commonality in struggle, such as a disgust at exploitation and wage slavery, a desire to destroy this world, or a hatred of urban concentration camps and the offensive struggles that ensue from it? Why should the part be isolated from the whole, which should neither be reformed nor humanized but destroyed as such?

Of course, everyone is free to attack the leviathan of alienated social relations in whatever ways they deem most effective or important. But it's *how* attacks are carried out—which is obviously connected to *why* they're carried out—that determines their subversive potential. This raises a whole series of questions with highly practical implications about what our objectives are, the adequate means of achieving them, what we hope to develop in both the short and long terms, and our political perspectives as a whole. These questions are necessary to our struggles to re-appropriate our lives, and the answers that each of us gives in the struggles we wage every day, as in any specific struggle, could well come to form a common basis to overcoming false separations.

Of course, our goal isn't to try to unify what, for concrete, fundamental reasons, such as conflicting viewpoints or perspectives, proves to be irreconcilable. Unity can only be achieved at the cost of political concessions or essential sacrifices. The idea is rather to seek and to forge complicity within the struggle against authority and what it seeks to impose on us.

the system we want to destroy as they are in this system, especially when they're used as a starting point for the possibility of uniting struggles on a common ground, as if treating workers, homeless people, undocumented immigrants [*sans-papiers*], or other "have nots" [*sans*] as potential subjects of radical struggles or of social transformation as a whole doesn't really correspond to how we want to be—*not* a disjointed patchwork of fragmented identities all locked up in their own, albeit porous and permeable, identities. Even if these categories are based on real social conditions, they still nevertheless reduce individuals solely to the positions they're assigned to by society and, in any case, express nothing about who these individuals are, what they do, and who they want or don't want to be.

So, rather than reproducing these often identitarian categories ad infinitum, shouldn't it be possible instead to come together on the basis of a commonality that transcends the particular conditions imposed upon each individual, a commonality that certainly wouldn't be a homogenous "whole" but could instead both negatively and positively be embodied in concrete acts of refusal, desires, and ideas shared and held by each? Exploring these aspects more deeply would certainly help us to move beyond the interiority/exteriority binary inherent to any subject/identity but would also help us to move towards projects that are in line with our real hopes and aspirations such as, for example, our unwavering determination to destroy every cage we confront (borders, prisons, wage labor, etc.).

Another obstacle to challenging the forms of separation that are imposed upon us is the fact that we conceive of our struggles as necessarily being partial from the start. The more a struggle is defined from the outset within strict limitations, the more difficult it will be to overcome these self-imposed boundaries, both in terms of the response it may elicit from the state as well as our aim of challenging the social system as a whole. Qualitative leaps—which aren't necessarily quantitative leaps—will always remain possible, but it's still an imperative for those who hope to advance

talking about possibly spending years behind bars but also everything related to "preventive" repression, surveillance, and prosecution in the broadest sense. Today and probably even more so tomorrow, we must appeal to our creativity and imagination to break free from repression's stranglehold, but this, as we've already said, is less of a logistical question of capacity and more of a matter of perspectives, ideas, and projects forged in the struggles we fight every day.

To conclude, let us never forget that in the last instance, our ideas, our methods, and our desires will always remain incomprehensible to the guard dogs of the state, because they'll never be able to recognize that individuals can freely organize and associate in anti-authoritarian ways. They'll never be able to understand that every human being has the possibility and the choice to revolt at any moment, and that it is precisely this choice and possibility that revolutionaries must appeal to. The social morass of conflictuality is not a military, tactical, and logistical matter but is profoundly and intrinsically *social*. To intensify this conflict, which means the self-organization of refusal and an attack on all social order and authority, ensuring that it can arm itself with subversive consciousness and ideas, is the best way to counteract, even overcome, repression.

And anyways… There's nothing to renounce, it's my life itself that I've chosen to put at stake... My life.

“To intensify this conflict, which means the self-organization of refusal and an attack on all social order and authority, ensuring that it can arm itself with subversive consciousness and ideas, is the best way to counteract, even overcome, repression.

Repression & Its World

Reflections on How to Avoid Isolating Repression from the Struggle

The idea that we live in a world where separation is the rule is nothing original. There’s no shortage of analyses identifying the principle of separation, even if proponents of economism still tend to reduce it to its simplest form. Each one of us intimately experiences the ways in which a form of social organization based on separation alienates us from each other and from ourselves, how it severs us from our immediate surroundings, and how the division of time, space, and human activity plays a significant role in individual and collective dispossession. It’s only logical that debates should focus on how to dismantle these existing conditions by reflecting on potential links to be forged between those who confront the necessity of fighting it but also by reflecting on ways to connect all the aspects of domination together in non-hierarchal ways. For is the ultimate goal not to bring an end to the misery induced by domination as a whole?

However, nothing is that simple, and it’s not uncommon for self-avowed radical struggles to quickly become fragmented. This happens, for example, when we adopt the categories inherent to